

[Shri Sontosh Mohan Dev]

be out of point to mention here that because of the most irresponsible decision of the Education Ministry in 1977 when some Bengal players were allowed to leave the camp of Agha Khan Gold Trophy, the present incident could take place.

I shall demand a full statement on the above incident from the concerned Minister and a detailed report of the proposed disciplinary action against the anti-national players. Unless firm and stern action is taken, it will spread like a cancerous growth in the other training camps organised by various National Federations. It is noted with great concern that some lobby is very much active to give them protection. For the national interest, may I expect the Minister to enlighten the House immediately.

16.16 hrs.

MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS—contd.

MR. CHAIRMAN: We now take up further discussion on the following Motion of Thanks moved by Shri V. N. Gadgil on the 19th February, 1981 on the President's Address:

"That an Address be presented to the President in the following terms:—

"That the Members of Lok Sabha assembled in this Session are deeply grateful to the President for the Address which he has been pleased to deliver to both Houses of Parliament assembled together on the 16th February, 1981."

Shri George Fernandes is already on his legs. I may remind you that you have already taken 33 minutes.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES (Muzaffarpur): Out of that also some time

was taken away by the obstructions of some hon. members.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I think, you are the sole speaker from your party.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: That is right.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, judging from the President's Address, I would like to submit that there is nothing to look forward to in so far as the poor, the downtrodden, the farmers, the workers, are concerned. I am reminded of the slogan that the Prime Minister gave in 1971 when she talked about *garbi hatao*. We know what happened in the years that followed that slogan just as we know what had happened preceding that slogan.

I have here the *Economic Times* of February 19:

"Poverty goes up in U.P. Poverty and landlessness are on the increase in U.P. according to the national sample survey.

According to the survey, there were 172 lakh households depending on agriculture in Uttar Pradesh in 1971-72. 50 per cent of these were either totally landless or owned less than 1 acre of land. Together, they accounted for only 4 per cent of the total cultivable land.

What was more distressing, said the survey, was that the number of households has increased from 45 lakhs in 1953 to 86 lakhs in 1972. It noted that although the population increased by 18 per cent during 1963-64 in U.P., the number of agricultural households increased by 35 per cent during the same period."

For years, we were fed with these slogans, how the Government was going to tackle and then came this grand slogan of 1971. And here we have the results which tell us that, in fact, poverty has been on the increase. There is a general feeling in the country that a State like Punjab, for

instance, is very well off, the people there have a very high standard of living and that the people are much better off there than elsewhere in the country. That is why I was shocked when on the 18th of February, four days ago, the *Economic Times* came with a report which the Punjab Government has now published. It says that:

"About 8,23,000 families in Punjab are forced to live below the poverty line according to the Survey conducted by the State Government for the identification of the weaker sections in the State. The annual income of these families which form 30.7 per cent of the total population is Rs. 3,600/- or less. The Survey shows that two-fifths of the households in the State are earning an annual income of Rs. 6,000/- or below."

This dispels the widely held belief that Punjab is a very prosperous State. Likewise,

"The fruits of development over the past three decades of planned development have not been equally shared by all regions or districts in the State. The Survey covered 53 per cent of the households in the urban areas. It was discovered that there were over 2 lakh unemployed persons in these households, that is, 53 per cent of the households, of which 67,500 were illiterate. Nearly 64,000 persons were educated unemployed being Matrics or above."

So, that is the situation that prevails in the country and that has been very assiduously, in a very systematic way, created, right from 1947, or from the point of time when you started Five Year Plans which were designed to create unemployment, which were designed to create additional poverty areas in this country. And yet, every time they get a chance, they will discuss about the Janata-Lok Dal, as though for everything in this country that they did or that they did not do during the three decades they were in power before the

Janata and the Lok Dal came in, we need to take responsibility today.

Now, against that background, what are the new policy initiatives that this Government has taken in the last 13 months after the interregnum of the Janata-Lok Dal? I have spoken about that the other day. So, I shall not repeat these points today. Those who were in the House have heard me and those who were not in the House will read what I have said, if they intend (*Interruptions*) I am now asking them what have they done in the last 13 months? What are the new policy initiatives that you have taken? You have got the black-money Bill to convert the black-money into white. In other words to give an incentive to the black-marketeers, to give an incentive to those who over a period of time in this country have kept robbing the poor people and who have made their lives miserable, they traded on peoples misery, and they traded on the shortage, they trade on everything, with which it has been possible for them to make life difficult for the people. They have come in with the Maruti. That was another Ordinance which they enacted into a Bill. I do not know what provision has been made in the Sixth Five Year Plan for Maruti. We shall certainly go through that plan. I have not had the time to go through it. But, Rs. 500 crores will be needed if you want to produce a car as investment into the so-called infrastructure which you already claim to have, the machinery, the equipment and, particularly the ancillaries that would be needed to produce a car, a new car, in this country and Rs. 500 crores in a sector, in an area, which is not a priority area, which is not concerned in dealing with the problem of poverty of the people. But, that is one of the policy initiatives about which, I am sure, you are all very proud.

You have come with a National Security Act and yesterday I read in the papers a statement that was perhaps made in the other House that till December, 1960, you have arrest-

[Shri George Fernandes]

ed 207 persons under the National Security Act. You have arrested the leaders of the farmers. Shri Narain Swami Naidu was detained under the National Security Act. My friend, Mr. Shankar Neogi, is in detention along with his colleague, led to a court, asked by the Magistrate to come and discuss problems of mutual interest and taken and driven from there straight to the court. There are people all over the country. A young colleague of mine, belonging to the Lok Lal, Shri Ramesh Gupta from Bhind, just because he was there exposing what the Police were doing or not doing in terms of maintaining law and order, in terms of encouraging dacoities about which Hon. Member made a mention under Rule 377 he was arrested under the National Security Act and imprisoned. They arrested a young man belonging to my party in Orissa, Mr. Das, a student, on the plea that there was a man, who was trying to put the spotlight on the Chabbi Rani rape and murder case. So, you now have this law which is another policy initiative which in the 13th months that they have been in power, they have brought forward. You have all these anti-labour laws. One of these has just now been introduced. these are your policy initiatives. The Bangalore strike went on. It is still going on. Today is the 60th day of the strike and I was amazed at the attitude of this Government while dealing with the strike this was the kind of initiatives they took! Something that shocked me beyond belief was the statement of Mr. Stephen. I am sorry, Mr. Stephen is not here at the moment. Look at the statement which Mr. Stephen made when the trade union delegation went to meet the Minister of Communications. Along with the Minister of Communications were three Secretaries to the Government and two dozen senior officials of the Government. Here was a delegation of a dozen trade union leaders going to meet him. In the morning the newspapers had carried

the story—a statement by the Joint Action Front of the public sector Union mentioning what they called their 'rock bottom offer'. As the delegation went and sat before the Minister, Mr. Stephen, a distinguished member of this Government, says, "Is your offer really a rock bottom offer? Because the moment I read it this morning, my bottom started rocking". This is the vulgarity to which a senior Cabinet Minister of the Government can descend to! And when the trade union leader said. "Sir; nothing is ever final", the Minister goes on further to elaborate the staemen and says, "Now that you are saying that it is not a rock bottom offer, my bottom has stopped rocking". This is the way you are formulating policies towards the workers. This is the way you are disposing of the problems that worry the workers—a major strike involving 130,000 workers. Your policy initiative has taken you to a point where, on the fertiliser deal on Thal Vaishet deal, you have reached a point where your credibility in the world had never reached the kind of situation which it has today, where the World Bank has said, "We do not any more trust the Government of India." Your policy initiatives have taken you to a point where you have made the oil resources of this country available to any one who wants to come and scout. These are the new policy initiatives that you have taken. You have taken policy initiatives where you have regularised illegal capacities in the large industrial sector built over a period of time by people who defied with impunity every law of this country, whether it was the MRTTP Act of the IDR Act. They had defied with impunity all these laws and today you have regularised every illegal capacity in this country. These are your rnwe initiatives! What can be people hope, what can we look forward to, with this kind of initiatives that you have taken in the last 13 months? If this is the dismal picture as far as the economic situation is concerned, let us discuss the country being over the hump even in the social sphere.

I recall the statement of the President made in his last year's speech.

"The confidence of linguistic and other minorities, Harijans and weaker sections of society has been seriously eroded. Increase in crime and inadequacy of measures to detect and prevent crime have created a sense of insecurity in the minds of law-abiding people...."

And then he went on to assure the country that the new Government was now going to create confidence in the minds of the minorities and was going to create a whole new ethos in the country where the minorities, linguistic and religious and people of every kind who are today oppressed and depressed, would be given protection. And, since then, you have maintained this usual refrain.

The Prime Minister went to Narainpur. Since then, she has had no time to go to any other 'Pur'; she has had no time to see anybody. Of course, she has time to go to Shravanabelagola; she has time for all the temple hoping that needs to be done. But she has no time to go to places where the Harijans are butchered, where the minorities are attacked. She has no time to go to Moradabad. Where is the time for Moradabad? (*Interruptions*) When did she go? After 2,000 people had been killed and butchered and eliminated, (*Interruptions*) She had no time to go to Bhagalpur. She had no time to go to Aligarh or Allahabad. She had no time to go to Samastipur or Ahmedabad. But she had time to go to Narainpur. She went on an elephant-ride in Belchi. She forgot Pipra; she forgot Kafalta; she forgot every other place. But there is all the time on the earth to go from Vaishnav Devi in Jammu and Kashmir to Shravanabelagola in Karnataka, for all the temple-hopping. You name the temple and there she hops. And you are talking of protecting the minorities in this country! Where are your initiatives? Mr. Makwana is here. When you ask-

ed whether I had finished I was waiting for you. Mr. Makwana, see today's headline. Mr. Makwana's home town is under curfew. Talking about the minorities, taking about the law and order, you should also know that the junior Home Minister's home town is under curfew. Not long ago, this is a news of 19th in the Times of India, only three days ago. I think the curfew is still continuing.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA): As far as my information goes, it was not under curfew.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: Well, Sir, if Mr. Makwana is satisfied with what is happening in Gujarat, good luck to you, Mr. Makwana. You think that all is well in Gujarat and you are very happy and conscious about it. We wanted to discuss Assam. The President, in his last year's address to the House said that Government reiterates the commitment to the freedom of the press. In Assam, the freedom of the press has not only been destroyed but, day before again you had extended that notorious law under which you are subjecting the press to pre-censorship. You have no solution to the problem of Assam. You keep on bluffing the people and the country that the freedom movement is against the people of Bengal. That is because you wanted to use it or you wanted to create a situation in Bengal that it was against the Muslims. That was because you thought that you could, in the process, consolidate some of the muslim dominated constituencies of the country. In Assam the people told me how very responsible and senior people in the Government have been saying that by this movement, you can ensure your majority in 47 constituencies in the country. (*Interruptions*) even if in 13 constituencies you lose in Assam. Do not forget that in Assam, the Assam Students' Union and all-India

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Gana Sangram Parishad has office-bearers, Mr. Makwana will bear with me that these office-bearers are Muslims.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Excuse me. You have consumed the entire time given to your party. So, you may have another two minutes only.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: I have been constantly interrupted I will not take much time (*Interruptions*) I kept quiet even when the mover or seconder of the resolution spoke. I did not interrupt them on any point which they made. They used every kind of phrase or every kind of argument against my party and against the former Government. There too we did not object; we did not interrupt them at all.

So, I would appeal through you to the members of the other side to have patience instead of refuting all the time my arguments. (*Interruptions*) When it comes to my speaking about the office-bearers of the All-Assam Students Union and the Assam Gana Sangram Parishad, they go on interrupting me. I am not yielding to them. You must protect me from this interruption. (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please resume your seat. The Chairman is competent.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: Your police had been on a rampage. Coming to the President's Address last year, in the last 13 months you have led the Police on the rampage. You have got the report of the Inquiry Commission on Baghat incident. (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Fernandes, you have exhausted the time.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: That is because I am being constantly interrupted.

I am constantly prevented from speaking.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I have asked you to conclude when I find that you have exhausted the time.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: I was constantly interrupted when I was on my legs.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Excuse me. In a parliamentary debate, these types of interruptions and some humour are inevitable. You need not be worried about it. When the time is up, then you should conclude whosoever occupies the chair. That is all.

श्री राम विलास पासवान (हाजीपुर): जब आप उनको पांच मिनट देते हैं तो वे दस मिनट तक पहुंच जाते हैं। हमारी पार्टी से तो ये एक ही आदमी बोलने वाले हैं।

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: Sir, I do not think you are fair to me I am just on my legs and I am being continuously interrupted.

Sir, a little while ago an hon'ble Member from the Chambal region mentioned about the decoit situation. In other words the dacoities are on the increase. You have had a Baghat, Moradabad and umpteen situations where murders have not only been on the increase but the lives of the citizens of this country have never been so insecure as today. So, where is the question of crossing the hump or going over the hump as has been mentioned in the President's Address.

Sir, I will not be discussing the President's Address in so far as the foreign policy is concerned. But I would like to make one point. The test of a foreign policy of any country lies in its relations with its immediate neighbours. As far as our relations with our immediate neighbours are concerned we are aware of the fact that at no point of time these relations have been so well as when Janata-Lok Dal were in power. Once again we find our neighbours are

living in mortal fear of us. So, I do not know what is there to harp about our performance in foreign affairs. What exactly is this government offering us today? They are offering us gimmicks. They had a kisan rally....

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Actually be brief and try to finish.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: Sir, I will finish in five minutes by the clock but I cannot be interrupted like this.

Now, Sir, they had this kisan rally and by their own statement they are supported to have brought anywhere from fifteen lakhs to twenty lakhs of people. I do not know what their final figures are. I have with me, Sir, an editorial from the Economic Times which says that if twenty lakh of people have been brought then a total amount of Rs. 100 crores would have been spent. This is what Economic Times says editorially.... (Interruptions). Now, there was a kisan rally which the Opposition planned to hold in Chandigarh. Then banned it. They arrested the former Chief Minister, they arrested thousands of people, they lathi-charged and they teargassed the peaceful rally. There was a kisan rally planned in Nagpur. They arrested Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan, they arrested Shri Sarat Pawar, the former Chief Minister of Maharashtra. They clamped 144 Cr. P.C. and finally they arrested 25,000 people. They arrested Prof. Madhu Dandavate. They arrested everybody. They had one rule for those who are in the Opposition and they had another rule for those who are on the ruling party side. They used the State machinery and they brought, by their own admission, 50 lakhs of people. According to the Economics Times, the figure is 20 lakhs of people. They spent about Rs. 100 crores.

There are 20 per cent people in this country who are hungry and who cannot afford a rupee a day. There are nearly 50 per cent people in this

country, who by their own 5th Five Year Plan Document, live on less than Rs. 2 a day, which means Rs. 650 or Rs. 700 a year. Now, whosoever came to Delhi, it had cost each one of them Rs. 500 for coming to Delhi and going back to their village. I would like to know who paid that money for those farmers to come to Delhi? Who were those people who enabled the Congress—I to bring all these people from all over the country. Did they do it for a purpose or did they do it for a consideration? Did they do it for a purpose just now and for a consideration later? So, Sir, we had this gimmicks. After the kisan rally, we will have further debate on the dynasty....

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS AND DEPARTMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH): Sir, what does he mean by 'consideration'?

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: I am asking a question on what basis they were able to bring 20 lakh people. What was the basis on which they accepted your proposal and arranged this kind of kisan demonstration? (Interruptions) With a great respect to you, I would submit if there is a mob here who think that they are going to hold us to ransom, some of us are capable of taking them on their own terms.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH: Sir, let him not threaten us. After all it is a parliamentary democracy.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: In a parliamentary democracy you cannot act like a mob. You act like a parliamentarian, not like a mob.

(Interruptions)

श्री राम विलास पासवान : हम लोगों ने कहा था कि इस के वास्ते समय बढ़ाया जाना चाहिए । तब निर्णय हुआ था कि एक घंटा समय बढ़ सकता है । हमारी पार्टी से सिर्फ एक बोलने वाले हैं । उनको तो बोलने दीजिए ।

समाप्ति सहोदय : आपको कहने की जरूरत नहीं है।

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH: We have decided in the Business Advisory Committee to allot time to the various Parties. Now, Mr. George Fernandes, has been speaking for the last 70 minutes.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: I dispute that exaggeration. The Minister is indulging in exaggeration and hyperbole.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am concluding now by referring to para 23 of the President's Address. It refers to the year 1980 as the international year of the disabled persons. I know how they started it. They started the year of 1980 by beating up the blinds; they started the year of 1981 again by beating up the blinds and then they went on to Bhagalpur and started creating more blinds. Now, we are in a situation where we have a Government that is blind; a Government that is blind to its past performance and blind to the realities of the situation in the country, and a Government that is totally blind as to what should be done to create a better future for this country.

As the President has said, one must have all the sympathy, love and consideration in so far as the physically disabled are concerned. But when you have a Government that is disabled in this year of the disabled, the only thing I can say is that you evoke our pity and not our sympathy, and it is a pity that is mixed with a certain amount of total contempt for the kind of way in which you are trying to take the country.

With these words, I conclude.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR SINGH (Banka): Mr. Chairman, Sir, before I focus the attention of the House to some of the important points raised by the hon. Member from

Muzaffarpur, I would like to make a brief reference to the foreign policy conducted by our Government. It was good of him to refer to our relations with our neighbours and other foreign countries at the far end of his speech.

It is difficult to judge the performance of any Government in the conduct of its foreign policy and to expect that the results would flow within a span of one year. What we have seen within a period of one year is that India today is firmly established as one of the leaders of the non-aligned movement. I am glad that Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee is here and I am persuaded to congratulate him because he succeeded in creating a false impression for some time at least in this country that he was pursuing the policies in the sphere of external relations as propounded by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. We know very well that in the sphere of external relations, there are no abrupt changes in the direction of policy; these would simply be side-tracks and it is what the Janata Party Government was trying to do, to substitute non-alignment by the concept of equidistance. I am glad and this House would agree with me—in fact, most of the Members sitting even on the other side would also agree with me—that India has regained the lost initiative during those three years. There is an unprecedented flow of foreign dignitaries to this country. They are coming to Delhi to discuss the complex problems of the world and find a solution to them. Not only that, the non-aligned conference held a few days ago has amply demonstrated that the non-aligned nations have again reaffirmed their faith that India pursues the policy of non-alignment in the true sense and has the capacity to defend those principles.

Shri George Fernandes had made these points during his speech on the last day. I must also say that he had nearly exhausted himself on that day, and he was only trying to provoke interruptions today to prolong his

speech. He referred to the scaling down of outlays in the 6th Plan on Education, Health and so on, compared to what the Janata Party used to call the Janata Government Plan, 1978-83.

Then there was a continuous harping, a continuous refrain on the Dynamic Decade. He made a sarcastic reference to the Dynamic Decade under the leadership of Shrimati Indira Gandhi; and then he was referring to what he considered the deteriorating state of economy in the country. I would try to satisfy him and meet his points one by one.

It was no mistake that Mr. George Fernandes was chosen to initiate the debate. All of us are fully aware, and this House and the country are aware, that the Lok Dal under the chairmanship of Shri Charan Singh has developed an expertise on economic affairs. People here are wondering whether his performance as Home Minister was surpassed by his performance as the Finance Minister of this country. The country is still reeling under the impact of the Charan Singh Budget. It can be said that it moved with the energy of a bull in china shop. The country has not been able to fully recover from the ill-effects of the Charan Singh Budget.

I would like to say this, as far as Mr. Fernandes's reference to the scaling down of outlays on Health Education and such other items in the 6th Plan: I share his point of view in so far as that there should be increased outlays on these important aspects of expenditure, and that we must pursue these policies with greater vigour. But what he tried to present to us was just a jugglery of figures. He was never referring to the figures in absolute terms, but only in percentages. Because the entire size of the Plan has been higher almost, 30 per cent higher when compared to the Janata Government's Plan, there would be certainly a reduced percentage of outlays on these important aspects. But I must say

that the Janata Party had little faith in the planning concept itself. The concept of rolling plan was introduced. What was the purpose? The Janata Government wanted to sell this country completely to Free Enterprise and multi-nationals operating in this country; and it was, therefore, that they tried to whittle down, completely do away with any planning process; and they introduced this rolling plan. And what they considered as a Plan was a mere paper Plan, without any supporting policy frame. No concrete action was there.

I want to quote a number of opinions which leading economists of the country held in respect of what they attempted to present as a Plan. I quote one for the benefit of Dr. Swamy. It says:

"It would be erroneous to attribute the lack of political credibility of the Plan to the lack of cohesion within the ruling party, or the extremely fluid overall political situation. The problem is much deeper. For, any serious attempt to give operational content to the New Deal necessarily means hurting, in greater or lesser measures, the interests of the ruling class, comprising the larger peasants, the private entrepreneurs, the organized urban labour and other well-to-do segments. And they seem to be in no mood to face this simple fact."

This is from the Centre of Developmental Studies, Trivandrum. Dr. Subramaniam Swamy cannot be satisfied without something of a China's stamp on it. (*Interruptions*).

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY (Bombay North East): You quote Indian economists.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR SINGH: For his satisfaction, I can quote something from America also so that he gets satisfied.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY: Do not try to evade it. You quote some economists of some standing in India,

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR SINGH: I can quote a number of them, not one. I can assure you that it was the unanimous opinion of the economists of this country, an objective opinion which held that the Janata Government's plan was a paper plan which had no credibility at all. (*Interruptions*) Mr. George Fernandes was regularly referring to the dynamic decade under the leadership of Shrimati Indira Gandhi, I am absolutely sure that in spite of the economic difficulties that we are facing at the moment, in spite of the difficult situation in respect of the availability of petroleum products and crude oil, in spite of so many difficulties, there is no room for despair and pessimism at the moment. The rate of economy has been positive since independence and has been more than the rate of growth of population. Between 1950-51 and 1978-79 net national product at 1970-71 prices have increased by 172.8 per cent. The rate of savings has moved from 13.7 per cent in 1970-71 to 24 per cent. The supply of investible resources....

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY:
Have you included 1978 also?

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR SINGH: I am presenting you the situation since independence because Shri George Fernandes was just now referring to the situation as it obtained since 1947.

The growth of a strong public sector has reduced the need for import of capital goods and enlarged our autonomy. He was just now referring to the World Bank Report and was trying to say that according to the certificate of the World Bank our economy is not moving, sluggish in its cage. I would like to say that our economy is free from the grief of transnationals, and what has happened in respect of the construction of the Thal Valshet Complex is a happy augury that this country has developed the strength to resist the World Bank pressures and stand on its own legs.

I am sure, you are fully aware that this country, within a short span, has reached self-sufficiency in agricultural production of foodgrains has gone up by 160 per cent while population itself has gone up by 80 per cent. So far as the period from 1969-70 to 1976-77 is concerned, I would like to quote a few figures which would amply indicate that the country did make adequate progress during the period of the dynamic decade under the leadership of Shrimati Indira Gandhi.

17.00 hrs.

Now I quote figures:

(In crores of rupees)

	At current prices	At 1970-71 prices
<i>G.N.P. Factor Cost</i>		
1969-70	33521	34518
1976-77	71381	43163
<i>National Income</i>		
1969-70	31606	32408
1976-77	66885	49534
<i>Per Capita G.N.P.</i>		
1969-70	5663.7	652.5
1976-77	1158.8	700.7
<i>Per Capita income</i>		
1969-70	597.5	612.6
1976-77	1085.8	658.9

(*Interruptions*)

It is here. I can give you figures. I can quote from a particular journal. The Eastern Economist which has many uncomplimentary things to say about this Government. But these are hard facts which you cannot ignore. (*Interruptions*)

Mr. Chairman, I would like to emphasise on some very important issues. The significance of this dynamic decade does not lie in these data, in these figures, in the rise of *per capita* income alone, but the significance of this dynamic decade lies in the fact that Smt. Indira Gandhi was able to infuse dynamism in the entire political system and for once in this country the poor and the downtrodden people came to occupy the centre of the stage in the Indian polity. (*Interruptions*)

And you know, the steps that she took in favour of the poor were; Banks were nationalised, LIC companies were nationalised, coal was nationalised; privy purses were abolished and the concept of compensation was radically changed. So many steps were taken. And because of this today every political party is talking in terms of socialism. Socialism was a hated word. Socialism was being whispered in the political privates of this country, not here in the main forum of national debate. Now, we have distortions also. Smt. Indira Gandhi is responsible for certain distortions also; because we have witnessed here socialism of one variety—the West German Siemens model of George Fernandes. (*Interruptions*) and in the Janata Party Government you tried to develop socialism of the capitalist variety and tried to call it Gandhian Socialism. Gandhiji was the greatest socialist born on this earth and he lived like a poor man. But you tried to confuse the people by taking his name and justify yourself. We have another distortion, distortion of another variety, the RSS variety of Gandhian socialism under the leadership of Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee. But it is true that during her dynamic decade and her dynamic leadership socialism became the established ideology of this country to which every countrymen came to adhere. (*Interruptions*) I would like to mention a third point. What is the state of the economy at the moment? And I would like to compare with what he was trying to do. What Mr. George Fernandes was particularly responsible for in the Lok Dal Government's regime. His role I would like to mention. He was all the time quoting from World Bank reports; and for the particular benefit of Mr. Swamy I would like to quote something from some American journal also from U.S. Department of Commerce, which itself says that "India's Gross National Product is expected to rise by about six per cent during the fiscal year beginning April 1. This would compare with a decline of three per cent in the previous fiscal

year." This is from *Business America*, U.S. Department of Commerce. This is their assessment.

Now I will tell you what is the inflation rate. I would come to this point in great detail just now. Inflation rate in 1979 was 23.4 per cent. In 1980 it was 12.2 per cent. Food-grain production has reached a new peak of 133 million tonnes in 1980. In 1979 it was only 180.85 million tonnes, a rise of 20 per cent. Power generation has gone up by 20.5 per cent. Coal production has gone up by 8 per cent. Vanaspati production has gone up by 16.9 per cent. Cotton cloth production has gone up by 3 per cent. Sugar production is expected to reach the figure of 55 lakh tonnes. Fertiliser production has also risen sharply. I would like to remind the House that the steps which the present Government in the Finance Ministry has taken to control the rate of inflation are significant, as is evident from the fact that during the last one year, money supply between April and November has contracted by Rs. 1695 crores, which is a decline of 7 per cent. Industrial production, as we all know, is expected to go up by 4 per cent. Recently between April and October, 1980, a sample of 138 industries representing 70 per cent of the weightage assigned to manufacture revealed an average growth of 4.4 per cent. I would not like to go into details of it. But all these facts amply demonstrate that the economy is out of the dark tunnel through which it had to pass for three long years and light is visible at the end of the dark tunnel.

In respect of inflation, I would like to apprise the House in very precise terms what my point of view is and what I want to project to this House. The inflation rate is like this: August and September +1 per cent, October +0.6 per cent. In November, it goes down to -2.2 per cent. In December it is -0.4 per cent. In January it is static. In February it goes up to 1.7 per cent. What is the mystery behind this? I have no doubt in my mind that the conduct of the economy in this country is in competent hands at

[Shri Chandra Shekhar Singh]

the moment. But what has gone wrong? There was a good harvest and everyone expects—it is a simple proposition—that with a good harvest, prices tend to fall. I would like to remind the House that so far as the prices are concerned, the foodgrain prices are the leaders. When prices tend to go up, first of all foodgrain prices go up. When prices tend to go down, the foodgrain prices first of all respond to the situation. Mrs. Gandhi has been repeatedly challenging that the political parties in the opposition, without any regard for the national interests, have been trying to whip up agitations to keep themselves alive and to keep themselves in the limelight. Many of our friends may not agree with us on this point. But the present farmers' agitation had done a definite harm to the national economy. Everybody expected the prices to fall in January and February but due to the farmers' agitation, a psychology was created that prices of foodgrains would not be allowed to fall. They would be kept at a higher level in spite of other factors. So, there was a tendency either to keep prices stable or to jack them up. I wonder whether there was some collusion between the trading lobby and this kulak lobby because it is in the interest of the trading class to keep prices high in the market.

I am all for remunerative prices or incentive prices for stepping up production of foodgrains. An impression has been created that the farmers since independence have been getting a raw deal. But various studies conducted reveal that it is not so. I would only quote the following:

"While all prices received by agriculture rose by 5.94 per cent per annum, those paid by agriculture rose by 4.45 per cent... The net barter terms of trade improved in favour of agriculture by 1.43 per cent per annum."

Several studies have been made by leading economists of this country and not one of them has come to the con-

clusion what it is popularly made out to be.

Some of the left parties also are misled by false slogans and they start agitating. They must know that what they are doing is going to serve the interest of a very limited number of people in rural areas. How many of them are surplus producers? How many of them produce that much to market their produce at a higher price for which they are demanding from the Government. The landless labourers, the marginal farmers, the small farmers all of them have to buy foodgrains at a higher price for which you are advocating and for which you are agitating. So, I would like this House and this Government to consider coolly without any consideration of what the agitators are trying to do, whether it is in the interest of the economy to plead for a price level for foodgrains which is not proper for the growth of the economy as a whole, keeping also in view that farmers should get remunerative and incentive prices.

I very much commend to this Government that the 20-Point Programme should be vigorously pursued. It is commendable as it provides sort of Magna Carta for the rural poor to free themselves from the feudal bonds under which they have been labouring for many many years. But certain new programmes should be added to it.

I would first suggest that there should be curbs on monopoly capital so that it may not aggravate the present disparities and inequalities. Secondly, I would also plead for increased outlay on development of human resources. You must have faith in our people. They are millions and millions of them. But they are not a burden for that reason. We have the innate faith that any person who is born with his two hands has the capacity and ability to produce much more than what he consumes. Therefore, we must invest in the development of human resources. There should be a programme for direct assault on poverty, a programme for

direct transfer of the income to the people below the poverty line by proper emphasis on the Rural Employment Programme, the Nutrition Programme and such other programmes.

Lastly, I would like to add one more point. We have just now discussed the question of labour relations. Efforts must be made to raise the productivity levels in our country. Ultimately, our performance would be assessed by the ratio between cost and benefit and the country will move forward only because of the efficiency of entire economic system. I hope the Government will fully consider this problem and take a decision.

I am sure that the country during the last year has marched forward and is still on the march; there is absolutely no doubt about it. And the country will continue to march and will have the benefit of the leadership of Shrimati Indira Gandhi, the leadership of the Congress tradition, the Congress ideology, our faith in the poor the down-trodden and the under-privileged and we shall be able to reach the goal, which we have always promised to the people.

श्री आरिफ मोहम्मद खां (कानपुर) : माननीय सभापति महोदय, सब से पहले मैं आप को धन्यवाद दूंगा कि महामहिम राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण पर जो धन्यवाद का प्रस्ताव आया है, उसके समर्थन में बोलने के लिए आप ने मुझे अवसर दिया।

पिछले एक साल से कुछ अधिक का भरसा बीता है कि श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी के हाथ में इस देश का नेतृत्व आया और यहां की हुकुमत उन्हें संभालने का मौका मिला। यहां पर सवाल यह किया जाता है कि 30 साल पहले भी हमारी हुकुमत थी और अब 13 महीने से ज्यादा बीत चुके हैं और हम

ने इस दौरान क्या किया है। अभी एक माननीय सदस्य, जोकि विपक्ष के हैं, कह रहे थे कि 3 साल की बात कही जाती है और यह नहीं बताते कि इन 13 महीनों में हमारी सरकार ने क्या किया है और पिछले 30 सालों में इस सरकार ने क्या किया है। इन 13 और 14 महीनों में इस सरकार ने जो कुछ भी किया है, अगर देखने की कोशिश ये लोग करें, तो यह बहुत साफ नजर आता है कि इसने क्या किया है लेकिन अगर आप हर चीज को नकारने पर आ जाएं, अगर आप जितनी उपलब्धियां हैं, भारत में जितनी उपलब्धियां हुई हैं, उन सब को नकारने लगे, अगर आप हीनता का भाव भारतवासियों में पैदा करने की कोशिश करें, तो इसका कोई इलाज नहीं है। मैं तो यह समझता हूँ कि यह अपने आप में एक राष्ट्रीय अपराध है। अगर हम अपने देशवासियों में राष्ट्रीय गौरव की भावना नहीं पैदा कर सकते, आत्म-सम्मान की भावना नहीं पैदा कर सकते, आत्मविश्वास की भावना नहीं पैदा कर सकते तो हम अपने दायित्व को पूरा नहीं कर सकते लेकिन विपक्ष की तरफ से, प्रोफिट्स आफ डूम की तरफ से इस तरह का चित्रण किया जाता है हर चीज का जिससे लगता है कि इस देश का कोई भविष्य नहीं है, ऐसा लगता है जैसे इस देश के टुकड़े हो जाएंगे, लगता है कि इस देश से ज्यादा दुनिया में कहीं गरीबी नहीं है। मैं यह समझता हूँ कि यह कोई बहुत अच्छा तरीका नहीं है। इस से कोई राष्ट्रीय हित पूरे नहीं हो सकते। हममें अगर कुछ कमियां हैं, हमारे यहां अगर गरीबी है, तो उस को दूर करने का लिए निरन्तर प्रयास जारी हैं, गरीबी से हमारी लड़ाई जारी है। गरीबी को हमें दूर करना होगा लेकिन सिर्फ अपनी बुराइयों को हम रोजाना कुरेदते जाएं, अपनी बुराइयों

[श्री: आरिफ मोहम्मद खां]

को बढ़ाचढ़ा कर बताए जाएं और एक माइक्रोस्कोप के एक्सपर्ट की तरह से हर चीज को मोगनीफाई करते जाएं, हर बुराई को बढ़ा चढ़ा कर बताते जाएं, तो इस से काम नहीं चलने वाला है। मुझे इस बात से इन्कार नहीं है कि हमारी समस्याएं हैं। हमारे यहां गरीबी है लेकिन उस को दूर करने लिए प्रयास जारी हैं। लेकिन खराबी उस वक्त पैदा होती है जब प्रगति की तरफ बढ़ते हुए कदमों में और उन्नति के लिए किए जा रहे प्रयासों में जगह जगह बाधाएं उत्पन्न की जाती हैं।

श्रीमान् मैं यह मानता हूँ कि जो पार्टी हुकुमत में आयी है, जैसे कि हमारी संस्था है, जिसने ऊपर कि सारे दायित्व रूनिंग पार्टी के हैं, जिसके हाथों में हुकुमत है उसका तो दायित्व है ही लेकिन उसके साथ साथ जो लोग विपक्ष में बैठे हुए हैं उनका भी दायित्व कम नहीं है। वे भी इस पूरे सिस्टम के हिस्से हैं और उसी तरह से हैं जिस तरह से वे लोग हैं जिनके कि हाथ में शासन है। बारबार यहां कहा जाता है कि लोकतंत्र में मजबूत विपक्ष होना चाहिए। यह भी कहा जाता है कि सत्ता पार्टी और विपक्ष दोनों गड़ी केंद्रों पहिए हैं, अगर विपक्ष नहीं होगा तो लोकतंत्र खपी गड़ी ठीक नहीं चल पायेगी। मैं पूछता हूँ कि अगर दूसरा पहिया विपरीत दिशा में चलने की कोशिश करे तो फिर गाड़ी कैसे चल पायेगी?

सभी लोग राजनीति करते हैं और सब की यह आकांक्षा होती है कि वे सरकार में आयें। विपक्ष भी सरकार में आना चाहता है। लेकिन सरकार में में आने का एक तरीका है। सरकार में आने के लिए इस सदन में उत्पात

मचाने की जरूरत नहीं है, शांति-व्यवस्था को भंग करने की जरूरत नहीं है, इस देश के निजाम को डिस्टेबलाइज करने की जरूरत नहीं है। अगर सत्ता में आना है तो हर पांच साल के बाद देश में इलेक्शन होते हैं, उस में अगर देश की जनता आपको चुनती है तो आप जरूर आइये जैसा कि 1977 में आप आये थे। यह श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी ने ही चुनाव कराये थे और शांतिपूर्ण ढंग से यहां सत्ता का परिवर्तन हुआ था। तीस साल के बाद इस देश में ऐसा हुआ था और सारे विश्व में यह पहली घटना थी कि बिना खून बहाये इस तरह से सत्ता परिवर्तन हुआ था।

देश में आपके लिए मौके मौजूद हैं और उन मौकों का आप लाभ उठाइये। सारे देश की जनता के बीच में आप इसके लिए अवसर पैदा कीजिए। इस में किसी को कोई एतराज नहीं है। अगर आप इस देश में एक चक्र चला कर, किसानों के नाम पर आन्दोलन चला कर, रेल रोकने का आन्दोलन चला कर यह सब कुछ हासिल करना चाहते हैं तो उस में आपको सफलता मिलने वाली नहीं है।

मैं माननीय जार्ज फर्नांडीज साहब की तकरीर सुन रहा था। मैं तो इस से पहले इस सदन का सदस्य नहीं था। मैं नहीं जानता कि क्या उन्हें संसदीय प्रथा का ज्ञान है या नहीं। अगर है तो क्या वे इस पर अमल नहीं करना चाहते हैं? मैंने कभी भी उन्हें इस सदन में अपने भाषण का जवाब सुनने के लिए उपस्थित नहीं पाया है। आज भी यही स्थिति है। श्रीमान्, आज उन्होंने बड़ा प्रभावशाली भाषण दिया, बहुत अच्छी भाषा का प्रयोग किया। मैंने उन का एक प्रभावशाली भाषण उस दिन भी सुना था जबकि मोरारजी सरकार के विरुद्ध अविश्वास प्रस्ताव पर यहां बहस चल रही थी। मैं तो

उस समय इस सदन का सदस्य नहीं था । लेकिन उस भाषण के एक दो दिन के बाद ही वे उस सरकार से ऐसे भागे जैसे कि कोई चूहा जहाज में भाग लग जाने पर भागता है । वे भी उस सरकार को तोड़ कर ऐसे ही भागे थे । He is like a ship which toots loudest when in fog.

उन्होंने आज भाषण देते हुए भी बहुत अच्छी भाषा का प्रयोग किया और बहुत सी अच्छी बातें भी कहीं । लेकिन आदमी जो बात कहे उस में उन के प्रति सिंसेयरिटी होनी चाहिए । उस को वही बात कहनी चाहिए जिस में उस का विश्वास हो । अगर उस का विश्वास नहीं होगा तो वह आज कुछ कहेगा और दो-चार दिनों के बाद कुछ कहेगा । मैं इस मौके पर कबीर का, श्रीमान्, एक दोहा सुनाता हूँ :

कयनी कथी तो क्या भया जो करनी न ठहराई,
कालबूत के कोट ज्यूं देखत ही बह जाई ॥

तो श्रीमान् इस तरह की बातें हैं जरा आप गौर कीजिए । अभी उन्होंने पहले यहां पर मुरादाबाद की बात की और माइना-रिटीज के प्रोटैक्शन का दावा भी किया । लेकिन मुरादाबाद के ठीक बाद उन्होंने आसाम का मसला उठा दिया । उसी समय मैंने उन की पार्टी के माननीय सदस्य से पूछा और उनसे पूछा जिन्होंने कि मुरादाबाद के बारे में सिर हिलाया था कि अब आप क्या कहते हैं वे माननीय सदस्य उस समय खामोश बैठे रहे ।

मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि वे यह बात क्यों नहीं समझते कि ऐसी बातों का क्या असर होता है ? असम के आन्दोलन के बारे में जो कि एक साल से चल रहा है, इस सदन में बैठे हुए लोग ही नहीं, पूरी दुनिया जानती है कि उस आन्दोलन के क्या राजनीतिक उद्देश्य हैं ? इस आन्दोलन का इतिहास क्या है ? वहां से, भारत की भूमि से किन लोगों को बाहर निकालने का इरादा है ?

इस प्रकार से एक-एक साल तक आन्दोलन चला कर देश में साम्प्रदायिकता भड़कायी जाती है । अल्पसंख्यकों के प्रति देश में नफरत की भावना पैदा की जाती है । यह एक नेचुरल कोरोलरी है, प्राकृतिक चीज है कि मुरादाबाद जैसे कांड होते हैं और साम्प्रदायिकता खुलकर अपना खेल खेलती है । यहां पर कभी किसी ने मुरादाबाद के बारे में यह नहीं कहा कि यह अच्छा हुआ है । प्रधान मंत्री ने 13 तारीख को दंगा हुआ था और 15 तारीख को लाल किले से अपने भाषण में सख्त से सख्त शब्दों में इस की निंदा की थी और हमारी पूरी हमदर्दी थी उन लोगों के साथ जिन पर जुल्म हुए, लेकिन सवाल अकेले मुरादाबाद का नहीं है । सवाल है उस प्रवृत्ति को रोकने का, उस तरीके को बदलने का और इसीलिए श्रीमान् उसी संदर्भ में यह बात कही गयी थी । कितनी परस्पर विरोधी बात है ? आसाम के आन्दोलन का समर्थन और मुरादाबाद के लिए आंसु बहाएंगे । किसान ऐजिटेशन नागपुर में करेंगे कि किसानों को ज्यादा दाम मिलने चाहिए और इस सदन में तेल की शीशी लाकर दिखाएंगे कि यह तेल मंहगा हो गया है, यह तेल मिलावटी है । एल. आई. सी. के लिए आज यहां क्या कुछ हुआ, यहां सदन में हम ने देखा । यहां कहेंगे कि समान कार्य के लिए समान वेतन का सिद्धांत लागू किया जाए और दूसरी तरफ, मुद्रा-स्फीति की शिकायत करेंगे । इस तरह की परस्पर विरोधी बातों से मैं समझता हूँ कि काम नहीं चलने वाला ।

श्रीमान् सन् 1977 में इस देश की जनता ने गुस्से में आकर एक फैसला कर दिया और गुस्से में किए गए हर फैसले पर बाद में पछताना पड़ता है । इस देश की जनता भी गुस्से में किए गए अपने फैसले पर पछताई और तीन-साढ़े तीन साल के अरसे में ही बिना किसी आंदोलन के आपको हटा दिया । आप अपने पापों के बोझ से स्वयं ही टूट गए । तीन

[श्री अरिफ मोहम्मद खां]

साल के अंदर ही सत्ता बदल गई, लेकिन इस तीन सालों के अंदर इन कुर्सियों पर बैठने के बाद अब फिर वही तरीका अख्तियार किया जा रहा है कि आंदोलन चलाकर सरकार को कमजोर किया जाए और फिर से वही कुर्तियां प्राप्त की जाएं। इस संदर्भ में अब तरह-तरह के नए-नए नारों के साथ, नई-नई बातों के साथ निकल कर आ रहे हैं। मैं माननीय बाजपेयी जी का बहुत आदर करता हूँ। अभी सुना है कि बंबई में जनसंघ के अधिवेशन में गांधी-वादी समाजवाद का नारा दिया गया।

एक माननीय सदस्य : जनसंघ है ही नहीं।

श्री अरिफ मोहम्मद खां : अब उसको आप चाहे जो भी नाम दें। दो साल पहले की बातों पर आप ज़रा नज़र डालें। इन्फ़ॉर्मेशन ब्राडकास्टिंग मंत्री श्री लालकृष्ण आडवानी थे। मैं श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी की सरकार बनने से एक साल पहले की बात कर रहा हूँ। उस समय हिन्दुस्तान का कोई अखबार और कोई जनरल ऐसा नहीं था जिसमें 30 साल के बाद नाथूराम गोडसे के भाई गोपाल गोडसे, उसकी पत्नी और उसके जो दूसरे रिश्तेदार थे उनके इंटरव्यू न छपे हों। जब गांधी मर्डर केस में स्पेशल कोर्ट के सामने। (अधिसूचना)

श्री मधु बच्छने (राजापुर) : सभापति महोदय, मैं आप की इजाजत से बतला रहा हूँ। पूना में गोपाल गोडसे की एक किताब का पब्लिकेशन सेरेमनी हुआ था तो उस में उन्होंने कहा कि आज अगर नाथूराम गोडसे जिन्दा होता तो इंदिरा गांधी को चुन कर लाने के लिए पूरी कोशिश करता। यह उन्होंने कहा है और पूना के सब अखबारों में यह छपा है।

श्री अरिफ मोहम्मद खां : श्रीमान्, वे तो पूना के अखबार की बात कर रहे हैं, मैं तो राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर सभी अखबारों और जनरलों की बात कर रहा हूँ। श्रीमान्, नाथूराम गोडसे का इकबाली बयान जो स्पेशल कोर्ट के सामने हुआ था, तत्कालीन सरकार ने तमाम पत्रों से यह निवेदन किया था, प्रार्थना की थी कि इस बयान को अखबारों में मत छापिए। अगर यह बयान छपेगा तो इस से साम्प्रदायिकता फैलेगी। अखबारों ने यह बात मानी। एक साल के बाद उस वक्त से सरकार जिस में सरदार पटेल गृह मंत्री थे, ने उस बयान को छापने पर कानूनी पाबन्दी लगा दी थी। लेकिन पहली बार 1978 में नाथूराम गोडसे का कनफेशनल स्टेटमेंट किताब की सूरत में मार्किट में आया और पाबन्दी हटाई गई। उस के बाद वह हर दुकान में दस्तयाब था। मैं ने उत्तर प्रदेश असेम्बली में कहा था जब वहां पर श्री राम नरेश यादव पर चाकू से हमला हुआ था कि जब गांधी के बजाय गांधी के हत्यारों का आदर होगा तब कोई भी नीजवान पागलपन में आकर यही सोचेगा कि गांधी बड़ा नहीं था बल्कि उस का हत्यारा बड़ा आदमी था। उस का इंटरव्यू छपता है, उस का फोटो छपता है तो फिर वह क्यों नहीं गाडसे बनने का प्रयास करेगा ?

आप जो नए नए नामों के साथ इस देश में एक जाल बिछाने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं, इस को यहां के लोग बहुत अच्छी तरह से समझते हैं और आप लोगों को धोखा नहीं दे सकते हैं।

श्री जार्ज फर्नांडीज कह रहे थे कि मुरादाबाद में दो हजार आदमी खत्म हो गए तब श्रीमती गांधी वहां गईं। वह कितना सच बोलते हैं यह अलग बात है। (अधिसूचना) वह कितने महीने बाद गईं यह मुझे से पूछा जा रहा है। जहां आप के लोग दो बिल्कुल परस्पर विरोधी आइडियोलोजी वाले काला कपड़ा

ले कर बाट रहे थे, तो आप यह न पूछें कि कितने दिन बाद वह गई। मैंने भी कहा था कि वह दो महीने बाद गई या दो हजार आदमियों मरने के बाद गई लेकिन मुरादाबाद कांड होने के बाद वह अमरीका नहीं गई। बागपत आन्दोलन चलाने वाले लोग एक महिला के अपमान की घटना को ले कर क्या कुछ कर रहे थे यह मैं आपको बतलाना चाहता हूँ। चौधरी चरण सिंह ने एलान किया था कि पन्द्रह अगस्त तक अगर सब एक्शन नहीं हुआ तो वह खुद बागपत में जा कर गिरफ्तारी देंगे। एक महिला के सम्मान का--उन को कितना खयाल है यह उस का एक उदाहरण था और उसकी रक्षा के वास्ते इतना बड़ा लीडर गिरफ्तारी दे, इस से बड़ी और क्या बात हो सकती थी। 13 तारीख को मुरादाबाद कांड हुआ था जिस की प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी ने लालकिले से पंद्रह तारीख को बड़े से बड़े शब्दों में भर्त्सना की थी। इसी तरह से चौधरी चरण सिंह बागपत गए जरूर लेकिन गिरफ्तारी देने लिए नहीं बल्कि अपना आन्दोलन वापस लेने के लिए और बागपत से लौट कर वह अमरीका चले गए। मुरादाबाद कांड के बाद वह खुद अमरीका चले जाएं और कोई यहां यह पूछे कि कितने दिन बाद श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी गईं तो यह ठीक नहीं है। उत्तर प्रदेश के गृह मंत्री तथा दूसरे मंत्रिगण उसी दिन मौके पर पहुंच गए थे। ऐसा कर के उन्होंने आप की साजिश को ही नाकाम नहीं किया तो और क्या किया (इंटरप्राइज) श्री मुर्शीद अहमद खां ही क्यों और सदस्यों ने भी उस पर अपनी उतनी ही तीव्र प्रतिक्रिया व्यक्त की थी। लेकिन इस का यह मतलब नहीं कि इस तरह की घटनाओं का आप राजनीतिक हथकंडों के रूप में इस्तेमाल करें और अपने राजनीतिक उद्देश्यों की पूर्ति करने के लिए इस्तेमाल करें। ऐसा नहीं होना चाहिए।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस धन्यवाद के प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करता हूँ।

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRA-BORTY (Calcutta South): Mr. Chairman, Sir, the presidential address that we are debating is expected to contain the realities that are obtaining in our country. It is generally expected (*Interruptions*) that in this presidential address the ruling party would place before the country their performance and their future programme. But, going through this address, I have seen how in a cold manner it has been presented, how in a callous manner the issues have been avoided, how in a calculated manner, they are trying to misguide the country.

The esteemed member who was moving the motion of thanks lectured on democracy. He quoted something from the British Constitution to prove that, even in England, there was the 'Prime Ministerial dictatorship' and there was also 'authoritarianism'. I do not know how far he has studied the British Constitution. But the point he has wanted to drive home is, probably, this: in India, the Cabinet does not exist; there is no collective leadership; there is only one person, the Prime Minister, and it is the Prime Minister who counts and the other Ministers are no better than 'yes-men'.

I do not know who has written this Address. I know it very well that the President is not a magnificent cypher like the Queen of England. But the way this Address has been written shows that they have not taken the issue seriously. I do not know whether this was written by the Cabinet or the Prime Minister—I know, she has no time to write it; she has been moving from temple to temple and going to astrologers and yogis. No scientific outlook has been demonstrated in this Address. This is a Government run almost by astrologers and fortune-tellers, powered by the get-rich-quick type of people and fortune-hunters of Congress. Other wise, when the country is passing through such a crisis, how can a serious Political Party present the

[Shri Satyasadhan Chakraborty]

House with such a document? Mr. Chairman, Sir, what is it here? Even from the Planning Commission document, we can fathom the depth of the crisis that the country is facing today. Is there any reflection of it in this document. There is only one thing; "We have got a leader and she is taking us out of the woods". This is a wishful thinking. No bold statements can substitute facts. The cold facts are staring you in the face. You may refuse to look at them, but they are there.

What is the position of our country? Even in the year 1981, there are skyrocketing prices, galloping inflation. All your tall talks about administrative, fiscal and financial measures have proved to be futile. I remember well, I remember vividly, that, during the last Budget Session, our Finance Minister said that there would be no inflation in 1981. But then what are the figures? Please allow me to quote the figures. 1980-81 has been one of the worst years so far as availability and prices of the basic necessities are concerned. Sugar was sold at Rs. 18 per kilo. Think about the prices of pulses, oil, wheat, vegetables, kerosene and such essential things. In the middle of January, the wholesale prices rose by 15.4 per cent higher than a year before and 42 per cent higher than what it was two years before. Now, in this document, the statistics have been skilfully arranged to present a very false picture. What is the rate of inflation. It is almost 20 per cent.

AN HON. MEMBER: Who says? (Interruptions).

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY: I say; I emphatically say, I am quoting all these things from your documents. (Interruptions).

The hon. Members sitting on the Treasury Benches are quoting the rise in production. This is due to good monsoon. In our country, since our agriculture depends in the vagaries of monsoon, if there is drought, agricultural production goes down; if there is good monsoon, agricultural pro-

duction goes up. So, no Government can take credit for these things.

In 1979-80, there was the worst possible drought; in 1980-81, there was a good monsoon. And so the food production had gone up. But, has it any relationship with the price? In India, we see that there is stagflation. But, even when there is a rise in production, there is no corresponding fall in the price. So, when you told about the average production going up, can you say that there has been of all in the consumer price index; There is no reflection on that. Do not quote all these figures. You go to the market and see how the prices are going up.

Why is it that the prices are going up? This is precisely because of the fact that this Government has been deliberately helping the inflationary forces. First of all, it was the increase in the money supply ever since. Planning was started which led to the deficit financing. Now it has come to such a point that the monetary system has become unmanageable. You had been printing notes without having any regard to the increase in production. Any student of economics knows that if there is undue deficit financing, that will surely lead to inflation. Not only that. The Government has been deliberately increasing the prices of steel, coal and everything. You can increase that by an executive order. Not only that. There is an increase in the money supply. Black money is operating in our country. A parallel economy is running here. This black money here is utilised not for capital formation but for speculative purposes. I shall give you one instance. Raids in Saurashtra unearthed oilseeds worth Rs. 1 crore. It is only the tip of the iceberg. All this money is being utilised by the speculators and by the hoarders. They are helping this process of inflation and, in spite of our promises, you are not taking any steps against those speculators and hoarders.

Any student of Economics knows that if there is unbearable burden of taxation, the price rises. You go on

imposing excise duty continuously. Don't you remember that this will be passed on to the consumers? All the producers are passing on this excise duty to the consumers thereby the prices increase. You are imposing indirect taxes. During 1947, the indirect tax—excise duty—was Rs. 62 crores; in 1981, it has surpassed Rs. 6,500 crores. Do you expect that the price would fall? Your leader may be very powerful but she is not so powerful as to nullify the economic laws. The inexorable economic law operates independent of whoever is in power. Sir, any student of economics knows that even if there is higher production and if there is no purchasing power with the people than there will be economic glut. Keeping fifty per cent of people below the poverty line; robbing the people of their purchasing power and keeping the great majority of the village people landless our internal market is shrinking and even if you increase production who is going to purchase. So, what you do is that you export. At the behest of the World Bank you are trying to export and the saddest part of the story is that when in our own villages and in our own country millions of people are not having adequate food you are going to export wheat to bridge the gap of your trade deficit. Is it not inhuman?

Mr. Chairman, Sir, whenever the problems come the janata is their whipping boy and Opposition their scape-goat. Whenever there is any problem they say it is the creation of the Opposition. Wherever there is bumper crop they say it is the blessings of Her Excellency. I say whom are you trying to hoodwink? Whom are you trying to befool? I know 70 per cent of our people are illiterate and you believe in keeping them illiterate because you think you will be able to keep the strangle-hold for all the time to come. You can fool some people for some time but you cannot fool all the people all the time. When you see the peasants and workers fighting for their rights you say it is the creation of the Opposi-

tion. Could we do it we would have done it but in India the Opposition is not so strong. If the peasants and workers are fighting for their rights it is because of your doing and pursuing of the anti-people policies.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, today why is there crisis? It is because the ruling Party have refused even to abide by its own resolutions. I would like many old Congressmen who are here to go through the resolutions of their own party in respect of land reforms. I can quote. I know most of you do not read the resolutions of your own party. They are irrelevant because some of you have joined the Indira bandwagon for loaves and fishes. Many of you are fortune hunters. That is why Mr. Anjiah has his airbus ministry. People who has been kept out of plundering try to get inside the Cabinet to plunder. You question our credibility and our allegiance! May I ask you how your party has been formed? What is your allegiance to your party? It is simply your self-interest.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Chakraborty, your party has been allowed 46 minutes. How much time will you take?

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY: I will take the whole time. Mr. Chairman, Sir, even if we go through the Resolutions adopted by the Congress before Independence these resolutions talk of radical land reforms. Today when we talk of land reforms you decry us as communists. I can quote from your resolutions that you are firmly wedded to radical land reforms. After coming to power, you have not fulfilled your promises. There are 60 million acres of surplus land and you have not been able to distribute them to the landless people. You could distribute only 1.6 million acres of land. Now, what about the Agrarian Reform? What about the land reform? Any student of economics knows that until and unless you destroy feudalism, there can be no advance in the industrial sector.

[Shri Satyasadhan Chakraborty]

Nowhere in the world this has been achieved. Keeping feudalism intact, there can be no development on the industrial side, be it socialism or be it a capitalism. This is the law of economics and you are ignoring it. Even people like Mac Arthur had suggested a land reform for Japan. He was not a Communist by any stretch of imagination. Now what is happening here? There is a crisis. There is no land reform here. There are millions and millions of hungry peasants. If you distribute the lands in the rural areas there will be lot of production and demand. There will also be spurt in the industrial production. In India, you are talking of rise in production. 50 % of the installed capacity of the factories remains unutilised. Can you tell me the reason for this? It is just because of the fact that we have a shrinking market. Now, the social contradictions are sharpening and these contradictions manifest themselves in all spheres of life. Can there be any industrial progress if we do not nationalise the foreign assets? You invite foreign capital. When you talk of nationalisation, you laugh at it. Yes, I do not want to criticise all your policies. I also give you the credit to one thing you did. You have nationalise a factory which employed none, which produced nothing. You have converted the private liability into a public liability. You have nationalised the Maruti company.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY: At the time of nationalisation, there were one chowkidar and two dogs.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY: That is your nationalisation policy. These monopoly houses are increasing their assets and they are increasing their profits. But you do not like to nationalise them. What are you doing in the name of increasing production? Even the restrictions that were imposed are now being withdrawn. You are completely fol-

lowing a *laissez faire* economics. Why? That is what you are doing. You tell them to go on producing, go on doing what they like, we will give you subsidy and let there be more export and that is why it is necessary for you to attack the people and you have been attacking them.

They talk of law and order. Here, in the report they say that there has been improvement in the law and order situation. But what is the position all over India? We find trigger-happy police everywhere. The Police had been indulging in brutal attack everywhere. In Bhagalpur you know what has happened. In Samastipur one student leader was murdered in cold-blooded and that is your law and order policy. You have brutalised the police force. You have been killing people and you have been arresting people under the National Security Act. Here in this House, the Home Minister promised that no political workers would be detained under the National Security Act. Unfortunately what has happened now? More than 200 political workers have been arrested under the National Security Act. You do not adhere to what you declared on the floor of the House. Shri Venkataraman was telling us about equity and parity of the LIC workers with other employees. When the prices are going up, it is necessary that the people who are getting less should get more. But what are you doing? You are curtailing the benefits of the working class which they could achieve through intensive struggles of many years. That is your performance.

This Government is talking so many things and holding out a very rosy picture for the people. They say that in the Sixth Plan, there will be an investment to the tune of 97,000 crores of rupees. But may I tell you that, in fact, right from the year 1962 there has been no proper planning in India. First, you draw a big plan, then you maintain the core of the plan, then you have a plan holiday,

the rolling plan and then no plan. This is what you have been doing from 1962. In the name of planning, what have you been doing? Every year you have been imposing more taxes. That is the way of capitalist accumulation. Today, you have no colonies; Indian capitalists cannot make use of the colonies, they have to rob the Indian people. That is the way to rob the people and accumulate more capital. That is the situation; you have to impose more taxes every year. And that is how, by robbing the Indian people, you are trying to have the 8th Five Year Plan get going. You propose to achieve 5.2 per cent growth rate, but what has been your performance. The average growth rate was 3.5 per cent. Wherefrom are you going to get the money? You are asking the State Governments to raise money, but at the same time you are going to deprive them of the sales tax. What a fine scheme you have! Form where will the money come from ultimately? It will only come from the poor people, budgetary deficit, imposing more taxes on the people, and by imposing wage freeze etc. And if for all these "socialist measures",—I put this socialist measures within inverted commas—someone shout, you say; "I shall

again be compelled to declare emergency. Why do you compel me to do that?" That is how you are moving. I would like to tell you that even in the United States of America, a capitalise country, there was wage freeze, but along with this, there was also the profit freeze and price freeze. But in India, we have the wage freeze, but no profit or price freeze. If there is wage freeze and no profit or price freeze, the industrialists exploit the workers. While the income of the industrialists goes up, that of the working class goes down. That is what you are trying to do.

This ruling party has adopted a new technique. The technique that was adopted by Hitler of propagating and spreading falsehood. How these statistics can be utilised would be clear to you if I say one thing. In England, there was one bank which supported the Nazi party. Next another man came.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member may continue on the next day.

18.00 hrs.

[The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Tuesday, February 24, 1962/Phalgun 5, 1962 (Saka)].